

PASS ON PAMPHLETS.

**No. 3.
Id.**

John Bull
and
**Doctor
Protection**

R. B. SUTHERS.

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JOHN BULL AND DR. PROTECTION

By R. B. SUTHERS.

DOCTOR PROTECTION: Good morning, Mr. Bull. You're not looking well. I hope it's nothing *very* serious.

JOHN BULL: Oh, I'm much as usual, thanks. This is Doctor Socialism.

DR. PROTECTION: How do you do, sir. I haven't had the pleasure of meeting Doctor Socialism before, but I've heard—er—something about him.

JOHN BULL: And you're likely to hear more, Doctor Protection. He's just been having a discussion with Doctor Free Trade about my health, and I'm afraid Doctor Free Trade wasn't pleased.

DR. PROTECTION: Really? Then Doctor Socialism must have been pointing out the weak spots in your condition, which your friend Free Trade wilfully persists in ignoring.

JOHN BULL: Yes. He pointed them out and made Free Trade acknowledge their existence. I'm afraid I shall have to seriously consider the question of dispensing with Doctor Free Trade's services.

DR. PROTECTION: It rejoices me to hear you say that, Mr. Bull. I feel sure that you would never have thrust me so unceremoniously out of doors sixty years ago had you not been deceived by——

JOHN BULL: Don't count your chickens yet, Doctor Protection. I didn't say I was going to re-appoint you as my Fiscal Physician.

DR. PROTECTION: But, Mr Bull, what alternative is there? There are only two of us in the running.

JOHN BULL: You have a new rival for my patronage in this gentleman, who offers an entirely different kind of remedy.

DR. PROTECTION: Doctor Socialism? Really, Mr. Bull, I am surprised. A man of your sound common sense, too. Well well!

JOHN BULL: It's no use taking that line at this time of day, Doctor Protection. I gave you a long trial, and I should never have made a change if your treatment had been satisfactory. I've given your rival, Free Trade, a fair innings since, and he's not turned out any better. I feel disposed to try a new remedy, and Doctor Socialism has offered me a cure. Now, I don't want to decide hastily, and I am prepared to listen to all you have to say in favour of a return to your treatment. Suppose you argue the matter with Doctor Socialism as Doctor Free Trade did. If his diagnosis is at fault, or if his remedy is inadequate, it will be easy for a man of your age and experience to expose his errors.

DR. PROTECTION: I shall be delighted to take advantage of the opportunity to prove to you again that there is only one cure for your disease, Mr. Bull, and that is my Tariff Reform Pill.

JOHN BULL: That's all right. Now, Doctor Socialism, perhaps you'll set the ball rolling.

DOCTOR SOCIALISM: I will begin by asking Doctor Protection what he thinks is the truth about your state of health, Mr. Bull.

DR. PROTECTION: Well, in my opinion Mr. Bull is in a very serious condition indeed. His Industry is declining; his Foreign Trade is stagnant; his Agriculture is rapidly decaying.

DR. SOCIALISM: Do you mean to say that his total production is less than it was?

- DR. PROTECTION: No. I don't say that. I admit that Mr. Bull is much richer, but I deny that the increase has been caused by the Free Trade Tonic. Other countries under my treatment are progressing much more rapidly. And the question is not Is the total income greater? but Is Mr. Bull able to find employment for his increasing population at remunerative rates?
- DR. SOCIALISM: I will remember that point. Employment is no doubt a very important matter.
- DR. PROTECTION: Most vital. What is Mr. Bull's condition to-day? Why, at this very moment, in the midst of an abnormal "boom," he is suffering from quite 7 per cent of Unemployed Congestion!
- DR. SOCIALISM: And to what do you attribute Mr. Bull's general ill-health?
- DR. PROTECTION: To the Free Trade Tonic. Consider Mr. Bull's Agriculture. It is nearly ruined. During the last quarter of a century the acreage under Wheat has diminished by 2 million acres, the rural population has decreased by a million, and the yeoman farmer has nearly disappeared. In the forties Mr. Bull used to produce at home about 22 million quarters of wheat. He could feed 24 million people then. To-day he depends for the bulk of his wheat on foreigners. The Free Trade Tonic has almost killed the basic industry of the nation.
- DR. SOCIALISM: But doesn't Mr. Bull gain by devoting himself to manufactures?
- DR. PROTECTION: That was the fairy tale which induced him to take on the Free Trade Mixture. But what are the facts? Having lost the best part of his Agriculture he is now losing his manufacturing industries. Germany and the United States are drawing up to him hand over hand. Mr. Bull was told that he would have the "workshop of the world" and supply all other countries with manufactures. But the other countries, thanks to my treatment, have developed manufacturing industries of their

own, and now they are competing with Mr. Bull and beating him on his own ground.

DR. SOCIALISM: But surely you are not an opponent of Competition?

DR. PROTECTION: Of course not. But there is fair Competition and unfair Competition. Mr. Bull fights with one hand tied. He produces goods cheaper than his competitors, and he is not allowed to sell them because protected countries shut him out by imposing Tariffs. He cannot get his goods into the United States and Germany and France free of taxes, but he allows them to send their goods here free of taxes. Isn't it absurd to call such a system Free Trade?

DR. SOCIALISM: What effect has this system upon Mr. Bull's foreign trade?

DR. PROTECTION: The result is that he imports about £100 millions' worth of manufactures that he might produce himself, so finding employment for 1,000,000 persons at £2 a week.

DR. SOCIALISM: Really? That is a very extraordinary thing. Do you mean to say that foreign countries send £100,000,000 worth of manufactured goods to Mr. Bull and receive nothing in exchange?

DR. PROTECTION: Nothing in exchange? No, he has to pay for them, of course.

DR. SOCIALISM: How does he pay for them?

DR. PROTECTION: By exporting other goods and by his shipping services.

DR. SOCIALISM: But are not these exported goods and services produced by people employed in this country?

DR. PROTECTION: Yes.

DR. SOCIALISM: Then, if you stop the imports of £100,000,000 of foreign manufactured goods, would not that throw out of work the exporters who now send payment of £100,000,000 of British goods in exchange?

DR. PROTECTION: Ah! But you forget our Un-employed.

- DR. SOCIALISM: Imports must be paid for by exports, Doctor Protection, and on the average must find as much employment. Stop the foreign goods, you immediately stop the workers at home now employed in making the goods to pay for the imports. Mr. Bull's Unemployed Congestion would be still worse.
- DR. PROTECTION: That's all very well; but I put it to Mr. Bull: Has he or has he not suffered from Dumps?
- JOHN BULL: It's true. I have a touch of them occasionally.
- DR. SOCIALISM: What are Dumps?
- DR. PROTECTION: Take a case. Suppose you are a steel manufacturer and that you usually buy your raw material at home. Suddenly a foreign traveller comes in with an offer of a large quantity of steel at half the price you are paying. You accept it, and give no more orders to the British firm. Do you mean to tell me that won't cause Unemployed Congestion here?
- DR. SOCIALISM: Naturally it would. The workers in the British firm would have so much less work.
- DR. PROTECTION: Yes, and Doctor Free Trade would brag about the "boom" in foreign trade. Imports of Foreign Steel, £10,000; Exports of Something to Pay for It, £10,000. Total trade, £20,000. And all the time British workers would be suffering from Unemployment *caused* by that boom.
- DR. SOCIALISM: Do you assert that Mr. Bull has lost much trade in this way?
- DR. PROTECTION: Heaps by this and similar methods.
- DR. SOCIALISM: You said just now that he was receiving £100 millions of imports that might be produced at home, so giving work to 1,000,000. Do you mean to say that foreigners have robbed British firms of £100 millions of trade and thrown a million British workers out of employment?
- DR. PROTECTION: Well—I'm not sure of the exact figures, but—

DR. SOCIALISM: Your figures, Dr. Protection, are absurd.

DR. PROTECTION: Sir!

DR. SOCIALISM: What I say is the truth. Your promise of employment for 1,000,000 workers at £2 a week is nothing but idle boasting. It could only deceive the ignorant: and, of course, you know that many of Mr. Bull's population *are* ignorant, owing to the blessings of Free Trade. You know very well that Mr. Bull cannot have lost £100,000,000 of trade to foreign competitors, because there are not 1,000,000 extra unemployed in the country, and in Good Times there are many less than a million. Is not that so, Mr. Bull?

JOHN BULL: You're quite right, Doctor Socialism. You've overshot the mark a bit there, Doctor Protection.

DR. PROTECTION: Well, of course, the figures may not be quite accurate, but, Mr. Bull, the argument is sound. The argument is sound. Look at American and Germany. They have their own home markets of 80 and 60 million people reserved to themselves, and, in addition, they are allowed to come free into Mr. Bull's market of 44 million people. Doesn't it stand to reason that with a much wider market to supply it is possible to reduce the cost of production? A man who can sell 100,000 articles can nearly always produce cheaper than a man who can only sell 50,000. What's the result? These protected countries are able to undersell Mr. Bull all over the world and in his own market!

DR. SOCIALISM: That's very remarkable, Doctor Protection. How is it, then, that Mr. Bull sells abroad £9 13s. per head of his population while the United States sell only £4 12s. per head and Germany £5 8s. per head?

DR. PROTECTION: Oh, that's no criterion of prosperity. It only means that Mr. Bull does a larger foreign trade than his rivals.

DR. SOCIALISM: But, my dear sir, that was the very thing you adopted as a test of Mr. Bull's pro-

sperity only a few moments since. You said his foreign trade was stagnant or declining.

DR. PROTECTION: You must remember Mr. Bull had a long start of his competitors. He ought to be ahead of them. And then, after all, the real question is not the extent of foreign trade, but the general condition of industry all round.

DR. SOCIALISM: Well, let us hear you on that ground, Doctor Protection.

DR. PROTECTION: Consider first Mr. Bull's Unemployed Congestion. What has Free Trade done for him there? Nothing. He has in Bad Times as many as 10 per cent. of his workers Unemployed, and always 2 per cent. His sufferings are becoming unbearable, but there is no remedy in sight but mine.

JOHN BULL: Don't be too sure, Doctor Protection.

DR. PROTECTION: No real remedy. Plenty of quacks, maybe. Think, Mr. Bull, of the slow growth of your Cotton Trade——

DR. SOCIALISM: What?

DR. PROTECTION: I beg your pardon. I didn't mean Cotton. I meant — er — Watches — no, Steel.

JOHN BULL: Thought you were still in 1903, eh? *Then* you used to talk about Cotton, but there has been a little boom since.

DR. PROTECTION: H'm. Yes. But the reaction will come. Look at the reckless way they've been building new factories. But I was talking about Iron and Steel. A quarter of a century ago we were first in the race. To-day where are we? Third, sir. Beaten hollow by Germany and the United States.

DR. SOCIALISM: Do you mean that Mr. Bull's Iron and Steel manufacturers are losing money?

DR. PROTECTION: Na—na—no. I don't say that. But Mr. Bull's total production is much less than it ought to be, and is not increasing as rapidly as his competitors'. Of course, Mr. Bull has to export Something in return for the goods sent by foreigners, but, my dear sir, *what* he exports is surely a very important question.

For instance, one of the industries in which Mr. Bull shows expansion is coal. He exports over £20 millions a year. Isn't that an alarming symptom? Why, his whole existence depends upon his coal, and here he is throwing it into the laps of his rivals. Why does he do it? Because he *has* to export something to pay for imports. He cannot export manufactures because of the Tariff walls raised by foreign countries, so he turns to coal. They take his coal freely enough. Another thing Mr. Bull is driven to export is sweated goods—goods made by cheap labour. Result: He has a mass of ill-paid, underfed people who cause him extreme suffering.

DR. SOCIALISM: And you think the Tariff Reform Pill would relieve him.

DR. PROTECTION: Certainly.

DR. SOCIALISM: Perhaps you will be good enough to tell me how?

DR. PROTECTION: My Tariff Reform Pill, remember, must be used in conjunction with my Colonial Preference Plaister.

DR. SOCIALISM: Oh! What is the object of that?

DR. PROTECTION: I will explain. Mr. Bull will, if he takes my pill, impose a 10 per cent. tax on foreign manufactures. If he uses my plaister he will give a preference to Colonial products, so diverting his imports of foods from foreigners to men of his own blood and language.

DR. SOCIALISM: Would the 10 per cent. tax on foreign manufactures keep the goods out?

DR. PROTECTION: No. Most of them would come in, but Mr. Bull would benefit by the tax. He would collect about £9 millions, with which he could do all kinds of things.

DR. SOCIALISM: Nine millions would be a mere trifle, Doctor Protection, if he got it. But I thought you wanted to find employment for the unemployed. If the foreign goods still come in, how are you going to find employment for 1,000,000 extra workers at £2 a week?

JOHN BULL: Rather stiff one that, eh, Doctor Protection?

DR. SOCIALISM: Yes. There's a slight difference between £100 millions a year promised to the British workers if they swallow your pill and 9 millions collected on taxation of foreign goods.

DR. PROTECTION: H'm! Yes. That's all very well. But we should get trade in other ways. The Tariff would give us something to bargain with. We could knock down some of the Tariff Walls that now keep Mr. Bull out of foreign markets.

DR. SOCIALISM: You think, then, he would be able to export more manufactures to Germany and the United States?

DR. PROTECTION: That's the idea. Mr. Bull's is not an agricultural country. He is a great manufacturer. He must find markets somehow.

DR. SOCIALISM: But, my dear sir, you have told Mr. Bull that it is inevitable that these countries should more and more manufacture for themselves. They won't want his goods very soon. What is he going to do then?

DR. PROTECTION: Ah! That's where the Colonies come in. If Mr. Bull will only give them a preference on food they will give him a preference on manufactures.

DR. SOCIALISM: H'm! Will they? Do you mean to tell me that the Colonies are going to retard the development of their manufacturing industries simply to find work for Mr. Bull?

DR. PROTECTION: The ties of kinship—

DR. SOCIALISM: Sentiment's a fine thing, Doctor Protection, but to ask the Colonies not to develop their own manufactures is like a father requesting his son not to marry so that he can help to keep the old home. It's against human nature.

DR. PROTECTION: My dear sir, the Colonies are willing to give Mr. Bull a preference, and some do already.

DR. SOCIALISM: Yes, a preference which is worth

hardly anything. But what do they want in return? A tax on foreign food.

DR. PROTECTION: Only a little one.

DR. SOCIALISM: Little taxes have a way of growing! Look at Germany and America. And who would pay the taxes?

DR. PROTECTION: The foreigner, of course.

DR. SOCIALISM: Oh, indeed! You mean that if a 2s. duty was put on foreign corn the foreigner would still send corn at the same price and pay the tax himself in order to keep John Bull's market?

DR. PROTECTION: Exactly. It has been proved that import taxes do not always raise prices.

DR. SOCIALISM: But, my dear sir, what becomes of your ties of kinship and your Colonial preference? If the foreigner still continues to send food, how on earth are the Colonies going to get into your market with increased supplies? The Preference will be no good to them. They will be justified in saying that you used them merely as a tool to force down the foreigners' profits.

DR. PROTECTION: Of course, if a small tax doesn't do the business it will have to be raised.

DR. SOCIALISM: Exactly. You've given the whole case away. You can't give a Preference to the Colonies without putting on a heavy tax; and a heavy tax means raising prices to the consumer. Again, how are you going to benefit agriculture at home unless you raise prices? You cant.

DR. PROTECTION: Well, my dear sir, suppose the price of food and things does go up, Mr. Bull will get it back in other ways. His industries will expand under my treatment. His trade will grow like that of Germany and the United States. What goes out of one pocket will come back tenfold into the other.

DR. SOCIALISM: H'm! It is easy to imagine that all these fine things will happen, but I think Mr. Bull is scarcely likely to be deluded by fine promises after his experience under Doctor Free Trade.

DR. PROTECTION.: That fellow! Why, his treat-

ment is most unpatriotic. It was bound to fail. Now, my method is to bind Mr. Bull and his Colonies together in bonds of interest so that they will help and strengthen each other. You must admit that a co-operative group of like bodies or nations is more calculated to establish healthy conditions than a warring group of unlike bodies or nations.

DR. SOCIALISM: Granted. But your treatment will not and cannot produce that union. There cannot be complete and healthy union between groups or nations when numerous members of those groups or nations are diseased. Now both you and Doctor Free Trade entirely omit to deal with this problem?

DR. PROTECTION: What do you mean?

DR. SOCIALISM: I mean the problem of Mr. Bull's Poverty Sores and Unemployment Congestion and the horrible diseases that follow in their train.

DR. PROTECTION: Regular Employment is sure to result from my treatment.

DR. SOCIALISM: Indeed. I shall prove that you are making a statement which is entirely contrary to the truth. Now, sir, is it not a fact that you depend on an increase of trade to provide the employment you promise?

DR. PROTECTION: Certainly.

DR. SOCIALISM: Exactly. Just like Doctor Free Trade, you promise that increased trade will provide more and more Employment, and solve the problem of Poverty. What does experience say on this question? INCREASED TRADE NEVER DID REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT OR ABOLISH POVERTY. Moreover, I assert that increased trade NEVER CAN abolish Unemployment or Poverty. Tell me, do you propose to abolish Competition?

DR. PROTECTION: Of course not.

DR. SOCIALISM: Do you propose to abolish the Private Ownership of Land and Capital?

DR. PROTECTION: Certainly not.

DR. SOCIALISM: Then I assert without fear of con-

tradiction that your Tariff Reform Pill and your Colonial Preference Plaister would not do Mr. Bull the slightest good. All they could do would be to shift his pains from one part of his body to another.

DR. PROTECTION: On what grounds do you speak so confidently?

DR. SOCIALISM: I speak from a study of Mr. Bull and of his past experience with your remedies and those of Doctor Free Trade. Both of you make your appeal to the largest proportion of his people, the working classes. What is it the working classes need? You tell them, relief from the Unemployed Congestion, Regular Employment, High Wages. Both of you promise these things, IF TRADE INCREASES. But, my dear sir, the whole world knows that trade has increased by leaps and bounds during the past century. Trade has increased by leaps and bounds during the last five years, and the Unemployed Congestion has been going from the chronic 2 per cent., up to 7 per cent.

DR. PROTECTION: That's under Free Trade.

DR. SOCIALISM: It was the same when you were giving Mr. Bull your whole range of remedies. In the "Hungry Forties," there was the same Poverty, the same Unemployment, the same lack of Wages. And at the same time, Doctor Protection, WEALTH WAS BEING HEAPED UP IN CERTAIN PARTS OF MR. BULL'S BODY IN EVER-INCREASING QUANTITIES.

DR. PROTECTION: There you are: I told you I made him rich.

DR. SOCIALISM: You made certain members of his body rich. You did not make him sound and healthy. What is the result of your treatment of Uncle Sam? At the present moment, there are millions of Unemployed in the United States. Uncle Sam suffers from all the diseases of Poverty, Unemployment, Child Slavery, Slums, and High Death Rates that afflict Mr. Bull. And you have been treating him for 50 years. If, with Uncle Sam's experience before

him, Mr. Bull adopts your remedy, he must be mad indeed.

DR. PROTECTION: What's the matter with Uncle Sam? He's got more millionaires than any country in the world.

DR. SOCIALISM: A millionaire is a Cancer. This disease is the necessary result of both your treatment and Free Trade's. Cancers, and Tumours, and Boils. Neither of you have the glimmering of an idea of the rational way of dieting and exercising your patient, so that all his parts may be healthy.

DR. PROTECTION: Young man, you are very rude to us old practitioners.

DR. SOCIALISM: I am sorry if I hurt you, but I must speak the truth for Mr. Bull's sake. Now, what are the requisites for a healthy life for Mr. Bull? First, he must produce an adequate quantity of supplies of the right kind. Second, he must distribute those supplies so that all his parts may be properly nourished. Am I right?

DR. PROTECTION: Yes, I quite agree with you there.

DR. SOCIALISM: But do you give advice to Mr. Bull on those principles?

DR. PROTECTION: I tell him how to get the largest quantity of things, but I leave the distribution to the self-interest of the various parts.

DR. SOCIALISM: No, sir. What you do is to advise certain members of Mr. Bull's body that *they* will get the largest supplies by your methods. You make absolutely no arrangement for producing the right kinds of things, or for distributing what is produced all over Mr. Bull's system. To-day Mr. Bull produces yearly £1,750 millions. Of that sum £600 millions is taken by $1\frac{1}{4}$ million persons. Five million persons take half the total income, while the other half is divided amongst 39,000,000 persons. Is it any wonder Mr. Bull is full of disease?

DR. PROTECTION: That's under Free Trade.

DR. SOCIALISM: It was the same when Mr. Bull was under your sole care. Uncle Sam, now, is

suffering from exactly the same diseases as John Bull. Listen to this: "There are probably in fairly prosperous years no less than 10,000,000 persons in poverty—that is to say, underfed, underclothed, and poorly housed. Of these, about 4,000,000 persons are public paupers. Over 2,000,000 working men are unemployed from four to six months of the year. About 500,000 male immigrants arrive yearly, and seek work in the very districts where unemployment is greatest. Nearly half the families in the country are propertyless. Over 1,700,000 little children are forced to become wage earners when they should still be in school. About 5,000,000 women find it necessary to work, and about 2,000,000 are employed in factories, mills, etc. Probably no less than 1,000,000 workers are injured or killed each year while doing their work, and about 10,000,000 of the persons now living will, if the present ratio is kept up, die of the preventable disease, tuberculosis." That is from millionaire Robert Hunter's book on "Poverty in the United States." What do you think of that, Mr. Bull?

JOHN BULL: It seems as if Doctor Protection's treatment and Doctor Free Trade's have very similar effects.

DR. SOCIALISM: Absolutely the same. Why? Because they are not remedies for producing national health, but remedies for increasing trade. Now, trade is done by individuals with individuals. Mr. Bull does not trade with Uncle Sam as ONE NATION, for the benefit of his whole body. No. Trade is done between individuals at home or abroad, and these individuals are fighting for what they think is their own good all the time, *not* for the good of the whole body. Consequently, while these few individuals who own all the land and capital continue to increase their trade and their accumulations, the rest of Mr. Bull's members never can obtain sufficient nourishment.

DR. PROTECTION: What is *your* remedy, then?

DR. SOCIALISM: My remedy is Organisation. Socialism. Juggling with tariffs is simply a dodge of a few rich who fight the Free Trade rich for the wealth produced by Mr. Bull. It won't and cannot touch the root cause of Mr. Bull's ill-health. Your Tariff Reform Pill won't affect the distribution of the produce in the slightest. All the fiscal faking could do would be to shift the profits of capital from one set of persons to another. Under Free Trade, the manufacturers and town landlords have made money. Before them, under Protection, the agricultural landlords waxed fat. Now, the landlords and the farmers want another turn. It is always the "Haves" you and Free Trade help, never the "Have-nots"; and no working man who can see beyond the end of his nose will be so foolish as to waste another minute over your remedies.

DR. PROTECTION: H'm. Very kind of you. You wipe us both off the earth, then?

DR. SOCIALISM: I hope Mr. Bull will pension you off very soon. But, if you have to prove that your past characters have been spotless, you will find it rather difficult. Both your remedies grow on one tree, the tree of Competition and Disorder. Under your treatment Mr. Bull has no control over the various parts of his body. You permit them to fight each other, and pursue their own profit. The result is that stronger parts tyrannise over and devour the weaker parts. You allow the working parts to starve, and the idle parts to receive an enormous share of their produce. How can Mr. Bull be healthy under such treatment?

DR. PROTECTION: And what wonderful tree does your remedy grow on?

DR. SOCIALISM: On the tree of Co-operation and Order. I suggest to Mr. Bull that it is his first duty to organise his production and distribution. To do that effectively, he must have complete control of all his land and capital.

What things Mr. Bull needs to keep all his members in health can easily be discovered. He requires so much corn, so much coal, so much clothing, so much iron, and so on. Given the quantities required, Mr. Bull can organise sections of his members to produce them, and organise others to distribute them. To-day, his members want so much coal. But the production of coal is left in the hands of a few coal owners, who produce or not, just as they think it will pay them. Mr. Bull's other members may starve or die for lack of fuel. What is it to them? Under my system Mr. Bull would produce as much coal as was required, and distribute it regularly where it was needed. He would, in short, produce for *USE*, and not for *profit*. For the use of *all* the people, not for the profit of *some* of the people. Do you see the difference?

DR. PROTECTION: Oh, yes, I see the difference. But while Mr. Bull's human nature is what it is, you will never get him to make such a drastic change in his habits.

JOHN BULL: What do you know about my human nature, Doctor Protection? I've learned a few things since I was under your treatment.

DR. PROTECTION: Ah, well, I won't argue with you, Mr. Bull. I don't think there's much danger of you taking up this young man's fantastic scheme in real earnest.

JOHN BULL: Well, I'm going to look into it in real earnest, anyhow. I'm sick of enduring these everlasting diseases which you and Free Trade promised to cure.

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